

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EA-07 ISO-00 IO-11 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 /084 W  
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R 251816Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6733

INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 03183

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PDIP, UR, UG

SUBJECT: REPORT BY AMB. ELLERKMANN CONCERNING UGANDAN  
SOVIET RELATIONS

REF:STATE 205335

THE FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE FROM ELLERKMANN IN RESPONSE  
TO REFTEL REQUESTING FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING  
UGANDAN-SOVIET RELATIONS:

BEGIN TEXT: 1. SUSPENSION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ON  
NOVEMBER 11,1975, WAS NOT INTENDED BY EITHER SIDE AND  
CAME UNEXPECTEDLY TO EVERYBODY. AMIN THOUGHT HE COULD  
PLAY WITH SOVIETS SAME GAME HE PLAYED WITH BRITISH  
OVER HILLS' CASE AND USE ONCE MORE BLACKMAIL AS POLITICAL  
INSTRUMENT. HE WAS SURPRISED THAT SOVIETS, INSTEAD OF  
SENDING "HIGHPOWERED DELEGATION WITHIN 24 HOURS,"  
SUSPENDED RELATIONS. SOVIETS ON OTHER HAND COULD NOT  
BELIEVE THEIR STRONG POSITION HAD GONE OVERNIGHT. WISH  
TO REPAIR DAMAGE WAS MUTUAL: SOVIETS DID NOT WANT TO  
GIVE UP MILITARY AND POLITICAL BUILDUP AND AMIN NEEDED  
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SOVIETS FOR SPAREPARTS AND MILITARY EXPERTS. HOWEVER,

SOVIETS LOST FACE IN AS MUCH AS THEIR AMBASSADOR HAD TO GO UNDER HUMILIATING CIRCUMSTANCES (AMBASSADOR ZACHAROV WAS LABELLED "CRIMINAL" AND "DRUNKARD") BUT THEY NEVERTHELESS 6 DAYS LATER AGREED TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

2. TEMPORARY BREAK WAS CAUSED BY ARROGANT BEHAVIOR OF SOME OF MILITARY EXPERTS (OF WHICH 20 HAD TO GO) AND OVER CONFIDENT SOVIET AMBASSADOR WHO OVERESTIMATED HIS POSITION WITH AMIN. WHEN AMBASSADOR HAD TO DELIVER MESSAGE ON RECOGNITION OF MPLA IT IS SAID THAT HE, IN PRESENCE OF MEMBERS OF DEFENSE COUNCIL, TRIED TO PUT AMIN UNDER PRESSURE USING INTOLERABLE LANGUAGE. IT IS CONFIRMED THAT AMBASSADOR WAS ALSO UNDER INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL.

3. RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS DID NOT MEAN RECONCILIATION. AMIN FREQUENTLY COMPLIMENTS THE SOVIETS FOR THEIR SUPPORT OF LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA AND PROMISES NEVER TO TURN AGAINST SOVIETS AGAIN. HOWEVER, THIS IS ONLY LIP-SERVICE. WHAT AMIN WANTS IS CONTINUED MILITARY AID. ON DECEMBER 26, 1975, SOVIET CHARGE D'AFFAIRES SPENT SEVERAL HOURS WITH AMIN INSPECTING MILITARY INSTALLATIONS. SOVIETS WERE REQUESTED TO ASSIST UGANDAN AIR FORCE WHICH WAS FOUND ONLY 20 PER CENT OPERATIONAL. AMIN REQUESTED THAT THE SOVIETS MAKE THE AIR FORCE FULLY OPERATIONAL BY THE END OF JANUARY (12 MIG 21S, 11 MIG 17S). HE ALSO ASKED FOR MORE HEAVY GROUND WEAPONS.

4. SOVIETS DID NOT COMPLY WITH REQUESTS. THEY INSTEAD ARE SAID TO HAVE SABOTAGED THE USE OF THE MIG 21S AND REFUSED DELIVERY OF MORE HEAVY WEAPONS BECAUSE OF FEAR BOTH COULD BE USED AGAINST MPLA IN ANGOLA. THIS IS CONFIRMED BY FACT THAT MIG 21S ARE NOW FLOWN BY EGYPTIANS ONLY, WHO CAME TO UGANDA MIDDLE OF JANUARY TO FLY AND SERVICE MIG 21S. EGYPTIANS ALSO DELIVERED SPARE PARTS. MIG 17S, OF WHICH 3 IN LAST WEEKS CRASHED, ARE FLOWN BY PALESTINIANS (PLO).

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5. OTHER DEVELOPMENTS ALSO SHOW THAT AMIN'S COURTSHIP WITH COMMUNISTS HAS COME TO AN END. BEHAVIOR OF SOVIET MILITARY EXPERTS AND OF AMBASSADOR ZACHAROV MAY MERELY HAVE BEEN IMMEDIATE CAUSE. REASONS FOR DISCORD GO DEEPER AND HAVE BEEN DEVELOPING FOR SOME TIME, EVER SINCE AMIN REALIZED THAT MILITARY AID FROM SOVIETS MEANT POLITICAL DEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. IN THIS HE PROBABLY WAS INFLUENCED BY ARAB COUNTRIES AND MOBUTU.

IN ADDITION, AMIN NEVER HAD POLITICAL TENDENCY TOWARDS COMMUNISM. IN SPEECH ON NOVEMBER 20, HE DENOUNCED COMMUNISM OPENLY AND SAID COMMUNISM HAD NO BASE IN AFRICAN CULTURE AND HERITAGE. HE CRITICIZED COMMUNISTS FOR NOT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 03183

BELIEVING IN GOD AND NOT ALLOWING PRIVATE PROPERTY.

6. UGANDAN-SOVIET RELATIONS, HOWEVER, MUST BE SEEN IN CONTEXT OF UGANDA'S RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND CHINA. IMMEDIATELY AFTER BREAK WITH SOVIETS, AMIN INVITED USA, BRITAIN AND CHINA TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH UGANDA IN ORDER TO FILL GAP LEFT BY SOVIETS. BRITAIN AND CHINA RESPONDED VARIOUSLY. BRITAIN AGREED TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS FOR BETTER TRADE RELATIONS AND APPOINTED ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER TO FULL RANK. CHINESE SENT SPECIAL MESSAGE BY CHAIRMAN MAO AND PROMISED TO BUILD STADIUM IN KAMPALA WITH 40,000 SEATS, BUT AMIN EXPECTED MORE, ESPECIALLY FROM THE WEST. AFTER HE HAD SUPPORTED WESTERN CAUSE IN ANGOLA AND HAD PRAISED PRESIDENT FORD'S MESSAGE TO OAU

SUMMIT, HE AT LEAST HOPED FOR RE-OPENING OF US EMBASSY  
IN KAMPALA. HE DOES NOT SEE THAT HIS OWN ACTS, SUCH  
AS UN SPEECH, HILLS' CASE AND OTHERS, STAND IN THE WAY.  
ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS UP TO WESTERN COUNTRIES TO  
CONSIDER THE CONSEQUENCES IF AMIN IS REJECTED FURTHER.  
SINCE BECOMING OAU CHAIRMAN, HE HAS WON RECOGNITION  
AND EVEN RESPECT IN AFRICA. BY FORCING HIM BACK INTO  
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CAMP OF SOVIETS, WESTERN COUNTRIES MIGHT LOOSE MORE  
THAN INFLUENCE IN UGANDA. ELLERKMANN. END TEXT.  
HILLENBRAND

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